

Disciplinary Devices—Rewards

CHILD STUDY

FEBRUARY, 1930

How Do You Use Rewards? A Questionnaire

Concerning Rewards—and Punishments

DOUGLAS A. THOM

The “Catch” in Praise

JESSIE TAFT

Why Parents Praise

GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES

Toward a Wiser Use of Rewards

DORIS SCHUMAKER

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CHILD STUDY

February, 1930

Child Study

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How Do You Use Rewards? A Questionnaire

This is the outgrowth of the work of a special committee of the Child Study Association. Test yourself by it before you read the articles in this issue.

It is probably safe to say that all parents use rewards as a means of influencing their children's behavior, but that few parents are conscious of the extent to which they reward or of the forms or methods which they use in rewarding. For this reason, and because an occasional thoughtful stock-taking is of value, the following questionnaire was prepared. It is intended to be self-explanatory as to the standards which it sets and to help you to check and evaluate against these standards those which you use in rewarding your children.

Provide yourself with a pencil and fill in each item as indicated. You will learn what you yourself are doing about rewards.

PART I

What rewards do you use to influence your children's behavior?

Following is a list of rewards which some parents use to influence their children's behavior. Read it through and put a check in front of the things you use or have used.

Gold stars	Clothing
Trivial toys	Money
Substantial toys	Books
Candy or ice cream cones	Pets
Other things to eat	

List other similar things you use or have used as rewards.

Many parents do not give their children material rewards but secure the desired behavior by the following means which are, in effect, rewards. Read the

list and put a check in front of each of the means you use or have used.

Special privilege, such as, to

Stay up later than usual

Sleep later than usual

Sleep with the parent

Invite friends to home

Go some place of special interest (movies, park, parties or vacations)

Wear certain clothes (as Sunday suit to school)

Use toys kept for special occasions

Take money from his bank to buy something he desires

List other special privileges you have used as rewards.

Omission of some task which the child particularly dislikes, such as

Washing

Picking up his things

Practicing, or doing his "home work"

Helping with dishes, running errands or doing some other household task

Changing his clothes after school

List other exemptions you have allowed as rewards.

Other parents try to get the child to behave as they think he should through still different forms of rewards. Read the following list carefully and put *one* check in front of each of those you use or have used occasionally, put *two* checks in front of those you have used frequently.

Tell the child that you, the teacher and others love him when he behaves in certain ways.

Fondle him or give him more affection.

Tell him he has done much better than anybody else.

Praise him for what he has done, telling him frequently what a good boy he was for doing it.

Tell others about his good behavior in his presence and get them to express their approval of him.

Help him feel satisfied with himself for what he has done.

Express approval of what he has done, pointing out why you approve.

Help him to find satisfaction in his progress or in his ability to accomplish.

Help him to find satisfaction in having made a contribution to the group.

Help him to find satisfaction in expressing himself at his best.

PART II

How do you use these means of influencing your children's behavior?

Parents differ greatly in the way they use different kinds of rewards. Read through the following list and place *one* check in front of the methods you use occasionally. Place *two* checks in front of the methods you use frequently.

Tell the child that if he will do what you ask, you will do thus and so for him. For example: at the age of two, ten and sixteen years respectively,

Tell him that if he will eat his vegetables he may have his dessert.

Tell him that if he will get his lessons he may go to the movies on Saturday.

Tell him that if he will come home from parties at hours agreed upon, he may use the car.

If he refuses to do what you ask, tell him what you will give him or do for him if he will comply. For example:

Tell him to eat his vegetables; if he does not do so, then tell him you will give him his dessert if he will.

Remind him to get his lessons; if he does not do so, then tell him he may go to the movies on Saturday if he will.

Ask him to come home from parties at a certain time; if he is unwilling to do so, then tell him that if he will do so he may use the car.

Wait until he has done something you hoped he would do, then give him something or do something for him as an expression of your satisfaction or approval. For example:

Wait until he has eaten his vegetables, then tell him that since he has done so he may have his dessert.

Wait until he has gotten his lessons, then tell him that since he has done so he may go to the movies Saturday.

Wait until he has come home from parties at reasonable hours, then tell him that since he has done so he may use the car.

Use the "reward" in such a way that the child himself sees it as a measure of his progress or accomplishment. For example:

If he eats his vegetables give him his dessert as a matter of course.

If he wants to go to the movies Saturday permit him to do so since his time is free because he has his lessons.

If he asks to use the car permit him to do so because he is dependable.

Those who served on the committee which formulated the Questionnaire are:

Miss Doris Schumaker
 Mrs. Lillian Cushman Brown
 Mrs. Ruth Reed Colegrove
 Mrs. Irma Hewlett
 Mrs. Elinor G. Leeb
 Mrs. Perry MacNeille
 Mrs. Marion M. Miller
 Mrs. Cécile Pilpel
 Mrs. Anna W. M. Wolf

Concerning Rewards—and Punishments

DOUGLAS A. THOM

There is no universal or ready made method for utilizing forces which have the power to mold human behavior.

REWARDS and punishments are dynamic forces which affect conduct. It is of vital importance to those who are charged with the responsibility of stimulating, inhibiting or modifying behavior to recognize the dangers that are entailed in the judicious use of these forces.

Rewards, as well as punishments, play an important rôle in the development of personality during childhood and continue to operate more or less persistently during the lifetime of the individual. It matters not if the reward be in the form of praise, approbation or widespread recognition such as comes from fame, glory and power, or whether it be of a more material nature, such as money, treasures or other tangible assets, which tend to satisfy the longings of our acquisitive tendencies. It satisfies that longing for something, that oftentimes secret desire in the heart of every man, that makes him struggle on to achieve his goal.

LOOKING BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE

Many times the highest type of reward is postponed and is only to be attained by indirect measures, and by utilizing someone other than ourselves as the instrument to attainment. That sense of security which comes to a man in leaving his family well protected after death; the pride of the ignorant, illiterate mother who has found her reward in the education of her son, though she may be quite aware of the insurmountable barrier that it puts between them; the ideals of men that have served and sacrificed, believing that sometime, even though it be in the far-distant future, their ideals will benefit mankind—these are all simple examples of how rewards of an idealistic and intangible nature may dominate our conduct. Such rewards necessitate planning, premeditating, foregoing the desires of the moment in order that the ultimate goal may finally be reached. This most important element, which requires the control of those primitive impulses centered about self-satisfaction without due consideration of others, should be the basis of all rewards, regardless of how simple they may be or how early they may be granted.

Punishment as a means of making man conform to his self-made laws, as well as to those of a higher

order, is as old as the world itself. Fear is the basis of all punishment, and as a factor in controlling conduct it cannot be ignored. Yet in all attempts to socialize mankind its influence has been limited indeed.

Penologists, criminologists and sociologists are all in agreement that as a deterrent of crime punishment, as such, has been a failure. The general trend of religious training has been, and continues more and more to be, based increasingly upon the love of God instead of on the fear of God. Intelligent parents and specialists in the field of child training are practically all in accord with the opinion that punishments artificially inflicted rarely serve the purpose of helping the child struggle persistently toward a desired goal. Punishment affects many children by making them contemptuous, rebellious and resentful. It dulls their finer sensibilities and brings out such traits as cruelty, brutality and other primitive tendencies. Again, it leads to evasiveness, trickery, lying and other traits which are utilized to help the individual avoid meeting a painful situation.

HOPE IS A BETTER MOTIVE THAN FEAR

The question may now be asked, whether, in our effort to affect conduct, it is better to appeal to the fear of punishment or to the hope for reward? Facing the situation frankly the reward method says to the child, as it does to the adult, "If you conform to certain rules and regulations, if you inhibit certain impulses and desires, if you follow the biddings of the parent or the one in authority, happiness will be your lot." The punishment method says, "If you do not conform, if you do not forego the pleasures of the moment, if you yield to those temptations which bring about violation of rules and regulations of the community or the home, unhappiness and pain will follow." One is the doctrine of hope and lures the child toward the desired goal by the promise of pleasure. The other attempts to attain the same end through fear.

We believe it is important that children learn to forego the pleasures of the moment—to inhibit natural impulses—in order that later on they may make satisfactory adjustments to a life of reality. One might point out that in the child's effort to attain reward, whether it be praise or something more material, the

necessity of making certain sacrifices, of giving up certain pleasures, of controlling certain impulses, should be very much a part of the plan; all reward should have as its objective this important factor of developing self-control.

PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE

There is another aspect of this subject of reward which pertains to the mental attitude of the one who is to dispense the devices that are brought to bear on the child in the effort to affect his conduct. Punishment, of whatever type it may be, is very likely to be administered hurriedly, impulsively and oftentimes unjustly, without having all the essential facts of the case at hand. There is invariably an element of retribution associated with punishment—something has already been done—some rule disobeyed, somebody angered, humiliated or hurt. Under such conditions it is not unlikely that the one who has charge of the punishment will be dominated by an emotion of an unpleasant type.

Emotional attitudes will prevail and dominate the situation, and the intellectual approach to the problem will be forgotten in the turmoil. Rewards, on the other hand, are instigated to prevent undesirable conduct. They are more likely to be discussed, premeditated and planned. Time and thought can be given to the subject at hand. Therefore they have a better opportunity for being evaluated before being put into operation. Intellect is more likely to prevail. One might look upon punishment as being an unsuccessful method of curing undesirable habits, while rewards are a fairly successful method applied for the purpose of prevention.

SELF-CONTROL THE OBJECTIVE

These generalizations may perhaps serve the purpose of formulating a policy as to the best method of assisting the child in the development of habits which will be of value in later life. Not only are desirable habits important but the child's attitude toward the habits needs careful consideration if they are to be perpetuated.

The child who is truthful and honest simply because he is afraid of punishment is still in a very precarious situation. When the fear—the stabilizing influence that has dominated his good behavior—is removed, he may not be able to maintain his honesty. Fear may be applied again when the case demands, but even so, it is pretty much like a weather vane that has to be set as the wind changes.

There are rewards so mistaken in principle, and so artificial, that they serve no better purpose. But the

child whose experience has taught him that honesty is associated with a satisfying sense of security within himself; that his conduct is socially approved; that in being trusted and respected he gains in freedom and acquires a sense of responsibility which stimulates his self-esteem—this child is in a position where he is quite unlikely to give up a trait, tendency or habit which is so much a part of his whole personality.

With reference to both rewards and punishments one can say that there are already too many artificial ways unnecessarily introduced into the field of child training with the idea of making them conform. Since most children are called upon to adjust their early life to so many parental whims, it is not surprising that by the age of four many have a well developed authority complex, which they solve either by repression or rebellion. A well thought-out plan for the welfare of both the child and the parent is essential, but it is not necessary for the child to build his life around the peculiarities, eccentricities and the general atmosphere of mental indigestion from which many parents suffer. Nature itself will provide a large per cent of all the discipline needed to teach the child the type of conduct that pays and that which does not.

FORETHOUGHT AND PLANNING ARE ESSENTIAL

In so far as possible, one should let both rewards and punishments come as a part of the natural consequences of what is done to protect the child from bodily harm. There will be plenty of opportunity left for the parent to demonstrate his ingenuity in planning ways and means of affecting conduct, even after nature has been allowed to play her part.

One must keep in mind that generalizations are dangerous. Children differ in their emotional make-up as they do in their intellectual equipment and physical strength. Their reactions differ widely, and we as parents are very likely to use the method to which the child responds most readily, regardless of whether it is going to serve best his future needs.

But misused rewards are often equally undesirable. Fear of punishment may develop cowards, and the intense desire for praise we inculcate in some children makes them spineless; their chief concern is to find out what others desire and to follow along in the path of least resistance. Indifference toward rewards and approbation makes all effort at affecting conduct through these means futile.

We are left with one of the many unsolved problems of human relationships, a problem which cannot be answered at the moment. We have, however, at least recognized the importance of the forces, rewards and punishments, in affecting conduct. We have recog-

nized that there are wide variations, both in quality and intensity, in the response shown by different children toward the methods which adults utilize to make them conform. Finally, we have acknowledged the

fact that parental emotions are oftentimes substituted in the administration of discipline for the intellectual plan which is essential in training the child with greater wisdom and justice.

The "Catch" in Praise

JESSIE TAFT

The seamy side of commendation is sure to come to light, no matter how subtly concealed.

MUCH is being written today, in magazines and books which give advice to parents, about the value of praise in the bringing up of children. In social case work too, praise plays a prominent part. In the records of numerous dependent children which I have occasion to read, I find frequent reference to the worker's efforts to encourage foster parents who are worried over lack of success with their children, by finding something to praise, or again I note that the worker is about to initiate a campaign of praise for a particular child who is doing badly at school and meeting severe criticism from foster parents and teacher. Sometimes one almost gets the impression of something which is weighed, measured and handed out like so much sugar.

From my own reactions to these written accounts of the use of praise, as well as from my inability to enjoy it or to give it, I have come to accept the fact that, for me at least, there is something fundamentally wrong with praise as a way of giving encouragement. In trying to analyze the basis of this suspicion and rejection of praise, I find that I hold two things against it—first, that where praise is, there blame is also, however disguised or ignored. This relationship between praise and blame is dynamic, inherent. The same impulse which leads to the one is equally powerful in producing the other. If you watch children carefully I think you will become aware of a certain uneasiness when they are exposed to the praise of parent, teacher or anyone in power. It is the fear of having set a standard, of having aroused great expectations. It is true not only of children; adults, too, would often gladly stop their ears to keep out the unwelcome burden of an approval which may so easily be followed by the opposite, or at least by some further encroachment. The one who praises is too likely to expect something, either a continuance of virtue when we are tired, or a return for his kindness, now or later. Praise is a

claim and its acceptance almost an implied promise to pay back, even when it is unsought. It is therefore a kind of obligation which, in case of failure on our part, can easily be followed by the disapproval of the person we have disappointed.

But, you say, are there not many persons who live on approval, who are always hunting it? Quite true, but such persons are prepared to take, perhaps even desire, the complementary blame response in order to maintain a balance over which they have no other control. The individual who wants to be told that he has been good also wants to be scolded for being bad; here lies my second objection—praise puts control or motivation outside of the will of the individual.

Praise and blame are like reward and punishment, in fact they are nothing more than a verbalization of the latter, only they are more devastating because less easily recognizable in their true character. We can unconsciously put the verbal stamp of our approval or disapproval on the helpless child, can easily seduce the unsuspecting adult with a subtle patronage which deceives ourselves as well as him. We may even become complacently conscious of our behavior to the extent of cultivating it as a method of dealing with others, a technique of managing. Teachers use it; employers take it over; social workers are often guilty of exalting it as a legitimate part of professional skill; parents too, although in a more spontaneous, mutually dependent relationship, may fall into the trap of relying on it.

The effect of the praise-blame relationship, its underlying meaning to him who receives, comes out very clearly in the case of a girl whose school career from kindergarten through college brought forth one continuous pean of praise from gratified teachers. The girl, although she enjoyed and depended on her success as a model student, felt herself trapped by their approval into a slavery of effort to please. She could

never have the freedom to fail, to experiment, to reject or dislike frankly, to seek the essence of a subject in her own way for her own pleasure. Always she was driven by the need to make the kind of return which her teachers expected, not to disappoint. It was not until she met a situation where there was no success to be gained by bare effort, where there was no answer in the book, no right or wrong, no criterion of success or failure except in terms of an inner growth process, purely individual and independent, that she began to realize the nature of her bondage and the use she was making of it to escape responsibility for her own development.

UTILIZING PRAISE AS ESCAPE

Neither is the giver of praise to be envied, for praise and blame, like reward and punishment, imply our right to dispense them, to sit in judgment on the other. There is an insidious superiority-inferiority relationship involved which, useful as it may seem at times, is capable of reacting like a boomerang upon the arrogant individual who thus takes upon himself a responsibility which no one can carry for another if he would.

All this is very well, you say, but surely in a human world to praise and blame are natural human responses. We cannot be icicles and never react spontaneously. True enough, and I hold no brief for icicles. I merely wish to point out the essential quality of praise and blame, and to differentiate between the mere projection of our personal gratification or personal disappointment and the objective appreciation of a person or his product, regardless of our immediate need or use for them.

This is easier to see in the case of children, because they praise and blame so frankly on a purely subjective basis, and find it so difficult to see the injustice of their responses, when we try to point it out. John is satisfied completely with the new engine which his father has bought him. "You are the best daddy in the world," is his grateful cry. Would his father have been less good or less deserving of gratitude if, through John's failure to describe the engine correctly, he had brought home the wrong kind? Yet it is an unusual child who, if he succeeds in avoiding open accusation, does not later show a readiness to criticize which appears irrelevant and unwarranted. The pain of disappointment has to be put somewhere, outside of the self if possible. In the child who, by virtue of training, timidity, unusual sensitivity to others or what not, is able to repress disapproval of parents, the need to blame or punish may take a devious route and appear later as a pious wish that the parent may not come to grief. This was clear in the case of Sally, who was told firmly on a rainy morning that a certain dress

could not be worn to school and apparently accepted this reasonable demand with some equanimity. A little later, when the mother was about to go to town, Sally remarked quite out of the blue, "My, what a bad day, I do hope you won't have an accident on the way in." The punishing wish was so obvious, the child so aware that something thus deserved might well happen if Providence felt as she did, that even the unsuspecting mother realized that she was being threatened.

It is fairly clear that we cannot regard the praise or blame of the child as a reliable index to the parent's merit or lack of it, however important a guide it be to the existing relationship, and often to adult stupidity or carelessness. Praise and blame as utilized by adults are not often so blatantly irrelevant but even they have a degree of subjectivity unsuspected by those who never stop to be analytical.

What we blame or praise is related most directly and obviously to what we are trying to do at the moment, or perhaps more generally to our long time purpose. This creates enough variety, both in individuals, and in the same individual at different times, to cause considerable confusion, particularly for the child who is expected to respond to all kinds, in all places and at all times, regardless of what he is doing.

THE INCONSISTENT ADULT

The teacher who has a problem of school room order and discipline praises for punctuality, silence, submissiveness. The mother who fears the child's tendency to day-dream may praise for the more noisy energetic expression. The father who is tired at night wants peace but, on the other hand, he wants his boy to show initiative and independence; he does not want a good little sissy. Yet all of these wants may be different under different conditions. Monday and Friday are not the same for the teacher, neither are June and September. On Sunday morning mother may be grateful for a little day-dreaming. Sunday afternoon, after he has been home all day and is getting tired of the holiday regime, father may like a rough house.

As if this subjectivity, which varies so directly with time, place and purposes, were not enough, praise and blame are filtered through individual media, no two alike, each with its own particular need, fear, prejudice and unsolved problem. This is most evident in the use of blame where it is all too easy to see how we punish the other for the quality, desire or behavior which we ourselves cannot tolerate, which we fear, hate, repress or indulge in in spite of our wish to be or do otherwise. The domineering father cannot tolerate his tendency to boss and bully when he sees

it coming out in his son, the mother who has never admitted certain physical aspects of human need as real for herself will be shocked and afraid when she finds them appearing in her daughter. Again we may love to see in the other some impulsive expression or control which we long for but cannot achieve; in which we get gratification through the other, and may resent anything which interferes with this, even though objectively, it be a change for the better. How often does the analyst receive the reproaches of disappointed friends or relatives who, in the course of the changes which have taken place in the patient, have lost their vicarious satisfactions. They are hurt when the analyst only asks if the patient is happier.

EVEN THE TOLERANT HAVE BLIND SPOTS

We who try to find foster homes for the dependent homeless child realize most keenly how careful we must be to sound out beforehand what the parents cannot stand, what they *have* to blame or punish. There are foster mothers whose tolerance extends to everything but enuresis, others who can bear enuresis but have a horror of stealing, even the mild kind which most children do. There are foster fathers who understand stealing and fighting, but will not allow the slightest interest in sex. Lying, swearing, temper, stubbornness, cowardice, any trait or habit may prove to be the stumbling block. It soon becomes apparent that we are dealing not with objective conditions, but with personal individual limitations, which are projected in praise or blame upon any one who happens to run against them as the foster child is sure to do. The foster parent, like the real parent, blames what gives him pain and praises what gives him pleasure; so does the teacher, so do we all if we have not learned to bear within ourselves some of the pain, failure and disappointment which life entails.

There is a place for praise and blame as the expression of emotions which we do have, whether we ought to or not. As human beings we cannot maintain an objective attitude all the time, nor do our children and our friends expect or want us to. If only we do not rationalize and justify, do not have to deceive ourselves, exalt praise to a method, expect it to solve problems, we can praise when we like and blame when we dislike. But we must allow our friends and our children the same privilege. If we know what we do, if we accept our own subjectivity and do not seriously impute to the person or the object our own emotions, then we are in the best position to recognize and tolerate the universal tendency of human kind.

My real quarrel is with praise and blame or reward and punishment as a deliberate method of control applied from the outside. This external quality is a serious indictment, if our goal for education, for child

rearing, is the slow organic growth of an internal balance which is self-dependent and results in something we call control. The difficulty is that so many of us have carried over from childhood a conception of control as something which is only possible under force, either our own or the other person's. Control of this kind is imposed from without or from within, but always it is imposed, never free or spontaneous. Self-control is a hard task; to achieve it, a part of the own will must fight to keep down another part which it fears to recognize as legitimately and inevitably itself. In fact, self-control of this repressive, uncomfortable character is nothing but the arbitrary external control of childhood introjected. In it the adult's will plays two parts, that of the autocratic parent and of the naughty child.

ENCOURAGING COUNTERFEIT BEHAVIOR

Just how external and ineffective such control by pressure can be, comes out very clearly in a foster home situation where the parents were apparently trying to make Jimmy a model child before undertaking the risk of adoption. Said Jimmy, earnestly, to the visitor from the child-placing agency, "I do wish father and mother would adopt me quick." "Why, Jimmy?" asked the worker, full of eager sympathy and delight at the success of the placement she had helped to make. "Oh," replied Jimmy with a sigh, "'cause then I can stop being good." It is obvious that Jimmy is not interested in being good on his own account and will become his natural self the second the pressure is removed.

Another bolder youngster, an own child, was told by his mother that he could go to the circus if he did not wet his bed for a week. The boy reported each morning on the astonishing and peerless dryness of his bed. As he cared for his own room, the mother made no investigation until the end of the week when to her dismay she found a pile of wet sheets hidden in the back of the closet. Broken hearted, she called her son to account. The boy, undaunted, looked her squarely in the eye and explained patiently, "But mother, you see I *had* to go to the circus." This boy had had the courage to treat the reward as quite extraneous to the problem of enuresis, which it was, and to deal with it rather as a situation to be managed somehow on the unreasonable terms laid down by an adult in power.

Not all children accept or evade the external pressures put on them by adults so frankly and simply. Sometimes, underlying the conscious compliance, we may discover negative attitudes, positive resistances or resentments which work out disastrously. One mother who was overzealous for her daughter's school success and was always urging her to make higher marks,

(Continued on page 150)

Why Parents Praise

GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES

In building up standards of conduct, parental approval is only the first step.

EASY it is to promise oneself, "I will never reward my children because that would interfere with the natural rewards—and punishments—brought upon them by their own acts." But hard it is to put into practice this theory of *laissez faire*.

Even if one should attempt to live up to this plan, it does not really constitute the goal of non-interference at which one has been aiming. So hedged about with protection and covered with solicitude is the life of any child, that no parent can hope to settle the question of rewards and punishments by deciding once for all not to indulge in them. Whenever a child sees a gleam of pride in the parental eye, he tastes the reward of approval; when his hardest efforts to get attention stir no ripple of interest, he feels himself punished by comparative indifference. Now, he may soon learn that he is suffering not for his own misdeemeanor but because his parent is engrossed in something else; he may find that he wins approval not for good behavior but for the color of his eyes, the curl of his hair, the dimple in his chin. These unsystematic responses, given involuntarily by the parent, only teach the child to adapt itself like any parasite to the whims and habits of its protector. The small girl or boy quickly gets into the way of using the babyish charms of face or manner to coax favors from the parent. Very self-conscious the three-year-old looks when caught in the act of playing baby to win a round of petting or playful teasing.

Even if it were humanly possible for the parent to keep his own reactions out of the picture, little would be gained in the attempt to have the child learn self-discipline from the results of his own behavior; for his environment is too carefully padded with precautions to allow him to bump his self-esteem at the right times, and too complex to let him see the why of what happens to him. Eating an extraordinary amount of sweets does not *always* give him a stomachache, nor does wetting his feet in January slush *always* put him to bed with a cold. There are actually times when he is so hot or tired that such naturally helpful activities as running errands or eating spinach will cause him immediate physical discomfort. The young child needs protection from playing in the path of motor cars and from falling out of open windows; when he is a little older he still needs to be kept from ruining his more

expensive toys and clothes because nobody wants to see him suffer long deprivation.

Since it is neither practical to let a child receive all the natural outcome of his own acts, nor possible to keep from arbitrarily rewarding and punishing him, we have no choice as to whether we will punish and reward, but only as to how we will do it. The moment we admit that some system of disciplinary devices is unavoidable, many of us swing to the opposite extreme and suppose it is necessary to "make the punishment fit the crime."

If a three-year-old accidentally breaks a dish, we feel we must reprove him mildly, though our eyes will teach us, if once we have strength of mind to forego the reproof, that he is sufficiently abashed by the evidence of his mishap. Should the same child wantonly throw and break a dish, we are often impelled by our own emotional reactions to reprimand him severely, or perhaps punish him a little, though we cannot escape the knowledge that it is just this little clash of our will with his which the child is after; indeed, if we omit it he will sometimes come demanding, "Pank me, pank me hard." As the older person, when ruffled, often takes out his temper on any subordinate who is at hand, so the little child gives vent to his vexation by hurling whatever lies nearest, perhaps not realizing that it will break. The greater the adverse attention which his outburst receives, the more successful does he consider it. Left alone, he would soon be sorry for his breakage.

The first principle of constructive discipline is that it shall never be an end in itself, but a means of getting the child to change his course. One of the most effective forms of punishment is a mild degree of isolation. Since the child's naughtiness is enhanced by other people's reaction to it, he loses his zest for it when it falls flat. Usually, this isolation need be nothing more than a withdrawing of attention from the child, so that he finds himself ignored when he had hoped to stir up opposition. No one is quicker than a child to detect the difference between a pointed ignoring of him that is only a cloak for intense concern, and true lack of interest. To the former he naturally responds by an increased measure of deviltry, but to real indifference he reacts by gradually calming down. For the comfort of other people it may on rare occasions be neces-

sary to send a child away from the rest of the family until he is in a reasonable mood. This should not be for a definite length of time, but either "until you are ready to try to be good," or "until I come for you." If he were sent off by himself for a stated period of time, the child would lose the benefit of his isolation, which would become nothing more than an ordeal to be endured. Should he have a change of heart, and be ready to behave decently, his isolation is likely to bring a reaction that will make him more unsocial than before. Usually, a few moments away from other people are enough to restore a child's poise. If much time is required, it is plain that he is either overtired or somewhat "spoiled" by earlier mismanagement, and needs not punishment but unemotional study and the provision of new conditions in parts or all of his twenty-four-hour schedule.

As the child grows older constructive discipline consists more and more in taking care not to shield the child from the results of his own unwise acts, in order that he may learn to recognize his errors. This is best accomplished without rubbing it in when the child does wrong, but by giving him a chance to savor his own reactions. Speaking harshly of a child's naughtiness distracts his attention from his own part, and makes him emphasize the unkindness of his critic.

NAUGHTINESS IS A SYMPTOM

For those children who seem incorrigible, whether selfish, thoughtless, mean or quarrelsome, it may at first thought seem as if this talk of mild or negative punishment is ridiculous. But these are not the children who will profit by a "good old-fashioned spanking" or worse. They are announcing in unmistakable terms that something serious is wrong with their daily life. One exceptionally troublesome boy, who had never responded to any punishment or reward, picked up at once and changed his disposition overnight when several boys of his age moved into the neighborhood, so that for the first time in his life he could play with other children of his own age.

Other children get on very well as long as no occasion arises, in the words of their mothers, "when I have to reprimand or punish." But if any reprimand is administered then follows sulking, contrariness or impudence that lasts for days. Now, if one is thinking not of punishment for its own sake but as a means of changing the child for the better, there can be no such thing as *having* to chastise a child when the expected result is several days of heightened disobedience. Sensitive children can be checked in their waywardness by a look or tone, a word of friendly counsel, even a deft joke, when they would kick over the traces and bolt if given a heavier reproof.

The matter of rewards closely parallels that of

punishment. Their purpose is only to accentuate the child's consciousness of being on the right track, so that he will repeat his acceptable performance. The moment rewards become so conspicuous that the child cannot see over them, they defeat themselves. Safe and helpful rewards are of two kinds, social recognition and increased opportunity. When baby says "Ma ma," mother smiles. She also gives the baby other patterns of speech. He steers a spoonful of strained carrot to his mouth, and is also allowed to experiment with eating broth from his spoon. It follows naturally that he is again greeted with acclaim.

The child who is given an exaggerated amount of praise for what he does is tempted to rest on it instead of pushing on to new victories. But if the advanced responsibilities offered him are too hard he may be discouraged and give up trying. The little child may be led to do what is desired by presenting a goal of future praise, as "You are a big girl now; go to bed the way big girls do," to which Miss Three Years answers, "I big girl; turn off my light and close my door; good night, nice Mama."

WIDENING HORIZONS

The older the child, the more severely does home-grown recognition of his doings need to be pruned. It is as easy to overpraise—as to overblame—our own children. Outside appraisal both means more to the child and is better for him, since it steadies his feet in the world that is to be his.

Spontaneously as any child responds to the reward of new opportunities, he is not always psychologically able to demand them when he needs them, for the comfortable baby ways of his family niche may hold him captive. The most stimulating reward that can be given a child is to put him, at least once in a while, with another child or children of his age or slightly older, that he may learn his own hidden desires and powers. Old-time visitations by families who have children of about the same age as those of their hosts are full of meat for both sets of youngsters. They can then compare their own eating, sleeping, dressing and leisure time habits on a twenty-four-hour basis.

Whatever the type and degree of disciplinary devices to which one is addicted as a parent, it is always possible to put into operation the law of diminishing prominence of the adult rôle, the purpose of which is to increase the child's reliance on the direct reactions accorded to his acts by Nature and the World-at-Large. To the degree that he removes his eyes from himself and from the parental hand, to see whether he is making his playmate happy and how best to reach the goal he has his eye on, the child proves himself to have been well and sufficiently trained.

Toward a Wiser Use of Rewards

DORIS SCHUMAKER

Different levels in the kinds of rewards and in methods of use are suggested in the Questionnaire on page 129.

REWARDS are unquestionably a powerful means of influencing conduct. They operate effectively from the cradle to the grave, if they are interpreted to include *all satisfying results of action*. At these two extremes of life, however, they differ widely both in nature and in application. In adult life virtue is supposed to be "its own reward." In the life of the child virtue is, as a rule, extrinsically rewarded on the theoretical grounds that by having satisfying results attached to socially approved behavior the child will gradually learn to distinguish the approved modes from the disapproved, and to adjust his behavior accordingly.

The theory of establishing desirable behavior through making it satisfying is sound, but it neither explains the disparity between the nature and use of rewards in adult and in child life nor justifies the rewards commonly given to children. Obviously the adult has already learned which forms of behavior pay and which do not. Within reasonable limits he has learned to connect effect with cause. In so far as his judgment is sound and uncontrollable circumstances do not enter in, he is able to predict the probable results of any contemplated course of action, and to choose the one that will yield the most satisfying returns. These are his rewards.

With the child it is different. He sees very little if any connection between cause and ultimate effect. His behavior for the most part is the spontaneous reaction to immediate situations. He cannot predict whether or not it will be satisfying. He knows nothing about virtue being "its own reward."

It is to influence the child to behave as we think he should—and ostensibly to help him establish relationships between approved modes of behavior and satisfying results—that we offer rewards. But we do so without considering the number of illogical cause-and-effect relationships he may be learning through them or the influence of these in his later life. For this reason a thoughtful analysis of some of the implications of rewards should lead toward their wiser use.

On first thought, the extrinsic rewards commonly given to children seem justified on the grounds that a child's interests are immediate, his attention span short,

his ability to connect results with natural causes limited and his need to learn to control his behavior properly imperative. Further, they seem justified since we have thought that appeal to the child must be on his level of understanding. Granted! Granted also that the offer of an alluring reward—a few pennies, an attractive dessert, a coveted privilege—will usually bring immediate response. But to what extent is this line of thinking sound?

The possibilities in the use of rewards are three-fold—

to get results, here, now, immediately and without protest;

to help the child increasingly to behave in approved modes through having satisfaction attached to such behavior;

to help him to establish a sense of relationship between cause and effect—that is, between behavior and its inherent results.

Which of these three is most fundamental in the life of an individual? The answer should determine our use of rewards, since through them the child may learn any of the three things. He may learn to act in terms of a situation at the moment without regard to underlying factors which should be taken into account. He may learn to gauge his behavior according to the dictates of his "elders and betters" because of what they choose to offer him in return. Or he may learn slowly but surely that there is an inherent connection between behavior and its results, and that in the long run sensitiveness to this relationship should be the basis for conduct.

The parent who faces facts squarely will probably have to admit that for the most part she is using rewards not as a means of teaching fundamental relationships, or even of having the child connect satisfaction with desirable forms of behavior, but for the more immediate purpose of getting hands washed, vegetables eaten, toys put away as quickly and happily as possible.

Thus while theoretically rewards may be a device for teaching, practically they are a tool for getting

things done. While occasional expediency may utilize rewards to speed up some process, their constant use on this level is not to be encouraged. It sets false standards for both parent and child. The parent builds a "habit" of thinking in terms of immediate results and working for these, rather than of thinking through and working for the more fundamental values that need to be established. She loses sight of and thus fails to utilize the teaching opportunities which the given situation affords. In turn, the child learns things that are true only in childhood and which, even in childhood, may hold good for one day but not for another. He learns, for example, that today the reward for clean hands is a penny, but that they are worth that because company is expected; that under certain circumstances picking up one's blocks before bedtime is rewarded with a story, while on other occasions under similar circumstances it is not—and that sometimes the story is forthcoming even though the blocks are scattered everywhere.

MOTIVES OF REWARDING

It must be clear to the thoughtful adult that this loose use of rewards, dependent as it is on adult caprice rather than on the possible teaching values which each situation may afford, is unwise. It postpones proportionately the child's learning regarding inherent relationships. But, you say, these are beyond his comprehension. In part, yes; but the child learns what he is taught. Who has proved that if the parent consciously sets the situation to emphasize inherent relationships, even a little child cannot sense them just as readily as he can those that, while more obvious, are arbitrarily determined? There are subtle relationships which he must grow to understand. But even with the toddler one can begin teaching these. Rewards at their best are an excellent device. To use them thus wisely, however, we need to recognize clearly the world of difference between having a story as a part of the going to bed process on nights when the child has managed his share of the program effectively, having offered it to him if he will so manage, and being threatened with having no story if he does not do so.

For the first many months of life the child is not verbal—he does not understand words as such—but he catches meanings in what we say to him from our tone of voice, our facial expression and our general muscular tension. We "scold" the baby. He may be too young to distinguish one word from another but he cries, hides his face or otherwise appropriately responds. The same words said in jest bring a totally different response. Thus we control the child's be-

havior not so much by what we say as by what we feel or mean.

The values and subjective factors in our lives impress the child as they did Emerson, "What you are speaks so loudly I cannot hear what you say."

What we *are* regarding rewards, as in most other instances, is below our level of consciousness. We really do not know what we think or do with reference to them. But the child is not deceived. He catches our spirit and responds in kind.

If the bedtime story follows despatch in undressing not as a reward but as a natural consequence, since there is time for stories when one does not waste it in dawdling, surely the child will undress as speedily in anticipation of it on this level as on the others. Also, if all of the routine of his life is organized on this basis he will come in time to have a sense of the eternal fitness of things, a feeling of law and order, and a realization of inherent relationships. It is out of these that he develops ability to plan and judge wisely.

Thus it must be clear that the viewpoint of the parent rather than the immaturity of the child determines the level of rewards and accounts for the disparity between their nature and use in adult and in child life.

BEGINNING RIGHT

Similarly, it must be clear that the parent or teacher who uses rewards in the usual fashion, en route to teaching the child mature standards for determining his conduct, bases her practice both on an unsound philosophy of education and on a fallacious assumption. She takes it for granted that she is "methods conscious," that she actually knows what method she is using, why she is using it and what she is accomplishing thereby. Further she assumes that she is so sensitive to the progressive levels of development in the child's appreciations of subtle differences in relationships and so plastic in her ability to adjust her methods to meet them, that she can deftly gauge the kind of rewards and the mode of using them so as to make the transition progressively from extrinsic to intrinsic, and from the material to the more highly refined social and ethical forms. That this is not true is patent.

The adult who has formed the "habit" of using the usual type and methods of rewards with the pre-school child will as surely continue to keep them on this level as will the child continue to expect them. Thus from the standpoint of economy in the learning process as well as of the effect on both the parent and the child even in the earliest years, rewards may well approximate the adult standard.

CHILD STUDY

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Editorial

The lure of the pot of gold at the rainbow's end has always been a strong motivating force for the human race. For the child, or the child-like race, the concept may be one of actual treasure. The mystic can be content to disregard, or at any rate discount, earthly discomforts only if he can look forward to "laying up for himself treasures in heaven." Even the mature integrated adult thinks in terms of rewards, though in his case these are likely to be intrinsic rather than either externally tangible and material like those sought by the immature mind, or in the form of compensation for present lacks like those sought by the mystical mind.

The degree to which we attain this freedom from the need both of the actual pot of gold and of phantasy is perhaps a very good index of maturity. This reason alone would make it fruitless to rely on material rewards as a device for securing right responses in small children. If we begin on a low level, why should we hope that the child in its actual development will later learn to respond to the intrinsic reward? This fallacy seems to repeat one of the basic errors of an outworn pedagogy. For there is no definite line of cleavage between childhood and maturity. Just as the curve of physical growth, though it may change in rate, is an unbroken line, so is the curve of mental and of spiritual growth likewise a single curve. To apply in the case of the child a philosophy totally different from that which is valid for the adult would presuppose two distinct curves.

The very fact that rewards may make an immediate appeal to the child is one of their drawbacks. There is not much difference between their application and the way, in most cases, that punishments are used to guard against the repetition of undesired responses. The danger in both is that they are frequently crowned with immediate success. The more far-reaching effects of either rewards or punishments go unheeded, because, though something may seem to be accomplished for the moment, the whole issue has become confused by their use. The real object of child training is not so much to make Johnny wipe his rubbers on the door mat as it is to help Johnny toward becoming in adult life a livable human being.

Any device or any method which is used to secure desired behavior must fulfill a twofold purpose: it must solve the immediate situation and it must contribute to the healthy development of the child's total personality. A reward, therefore, though it may solve a present situation, must be condemned if it is the kind which will lead the child to evaluate behavior only as a means of securing greater and greater rewards. Such rewards set up a totally wrong philosophy of living which outweighs any of these momentary advantages. And who can expect that these advantages will be more than momentary? A child who is "good" because he has his eye on the candy, will not necessarily be "good" when there is no candy to give him.

It is all too easy to follow the current of our highly materialistic civilization and to think of success almost exclusively in economic and social terms. There is no need to emphasize this attitude toward life with small children; they are exposed to it at every turn. Rather must the thinking parent be challenged to insure the child's development with a minimum of reliance on extrinsic rewards, whether crude or subtly disguised.

CHILD STUDY for March
When Is a Child Grown Up?

News and Notes

Hughes Mearns is lecturing on "Creative Youth" for the Parents' Council of Philadelphia on January 15, 22, 29 and February 6 in the Central Y. M. C. A. auditorium. This series of lectures will be developed from a somewhat unusual point of view and will present personal histories of children whose unguessed abilities have been raised to surprising levels by creative teaching. Hughes Mearns was formerly teacher of English at the Lincoln School, New York, and is now Professor of English at New York University.

The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures gives its Fifteenth Annual Luncheon on Saturday, January 25, at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City. The luncheon, which was addressed by screen celebrities and speakers of nationwide reputation, is the concluding meeting of a three-day Conference. Information as to findings and activities may be secured from the National Board of Review at 70 Fifth Avenue.

Dr. Ruth Andrus, of the State Education Department, announced at the Headquarters of the United Parents' Associations on December 20, 1929, that plans were under way for the formation of parent study groups with lay leaders, throughout the metropolitan area. This project will be under the joint auspices of the United Parents' Associations and of the Metropolitan District of the New York State Congress of Parents and Teachers. Its activities are expected to cover the five boroughs of New York City and Westchester County. In stating the purpose of this new movement, Dr. Andrus emphasized the objectives of parent education formulated by the National Council, as quoted in the next column. The grant of the Spelman Fund of New York to the State Department of Education is being utilized to further parent education and child development wherever facilities are already available. The United Parents' Associations throughout the Metropolitan District offer such opportunities for training courses for the benefit of local lay leaders. The Institute of Child Development of Teachers College, Institute of Child Guidance, The New York School of Social Work and the Child Study Association are cooperating with the State Department in organizing these groups. Similar groups are being formed in Rochester, Binghamton, Gloversville, Schenectady and Troy.

"Problems for Parent Educators," just published by the National Council of Parent Education, states the case for parent education as of November, 1928. In that month

Findings of the National Council of Parent Education

was held at Atlantic City the First Annual Meeting of the National Council, the proceedings of which are now presented. Edited by Eduard C. Lindeman, Consulting Director of the National Council, and Flora M. Thurston, Executive Secretary of the National Council, with a foreword by Edna Noble White, Director of the Merrill-Palmer School, this report marks a real milestone. Not that it puts a seal of finality upon any of the steps of parent education, either in the past or future. One of the outstanding qualities of the Meeting and of the Report is recognition of parent education as a constantly developing process, and of its own function as "one phase of an on-going, evolving inquiry."

The body of the report consists of the outlines developed for six major problems: How May the Needs of Parents Be Determined? How May Parents Be Educated on the Job? How May Prospective Parents Be Educated for the Job? How May Professional Leadership for Parent Education Be Discovered, Enlisted and Trained? How May Lay Leadership for Parent Education Be Discovered, Trained and Utilized? How May Effective Programs for Parent Education Be Formulated? These outlines will be invaluable to everyone engaged in leading child study groups or in directing activities of parent education groups. The objectives of parent education, as stated in the report, touch the needs of parents themselves as they are most keenly felt. The conclusions stated perhaps come closest to the individual parent in the listing of objectives for parent education:

- (a) To increase in parents the awareness of their opportunities as parents;
- (b) To enable them to meet a changing world with intelligence and serenity;
- (c) To induce them to evaluate their experience, motives, behavior, and their aims in child dealings;
- (d) To assist them in developing skills and techniques for dealing with situations arising from their functions as parents;
- (e) To enhance their satisfactions with their "jobs";
- (f) To aid them in conceiving the family in terms of continuing adjustments to higher levels;
- (g) To help them in orienting their family within enlarging contexts of neighborhood, community, nation, world;
- (h) To furnish them with the knowledge and means for understanding and offering controls in the evolving problems of growth in themselves and their children;
- (i) To expand and enrich the total life of the family;
- (j) To develop in parents a group consciousness, a sense of membership in a larger community of parents sharing similar experiences;
- (k) To stimulate the habit of study.

In connection with the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, a meeting of the *Parent Education and the White House Conference* subdivision on Family and Parent Education, of which Dr. Louise Stanley is chairman, was held in Washington during the Christmas holidays. Subcommittees were organized to study the following topics: Educational Implications of Home Activities of Children and Their Direction; Household Management and the Contribution It Has to Make to the Education of Children; Home Equipment; Family and Its Relationships; State Programs of Parent Education; Types and Content of Parent Education as indicated.

Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg is chairman of the subcommittee on Types and Content of Parent Education, and Miss Flora M. Thurston, secretary. This committee will survey all the agencies offering parent and preparental education, evaluate content and method, and formulate some essentials of an effective program.

"Marriage and the Home" was the subject of a conference held in Buffalo, New York, on November 21-25, 1929, under the auspices of the Social Hygiene Committee of the Buffalo Council of Churches and the Marriage and Home Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Recognizing the increasing number of problems which modern home life presents, and believing in the institution of marriage, and in the church as a guide in family as well as communal life, the conference recommends: classes for young people, under the auspices of the church, giving preparation for home life and parent education; courses for divinity students in mental hygiene, family case work and sex instruction; more personal ministry and counsel to young couples; and a paid, full-time clinic in each city, the staff of which includes a minister, a psychiatrist, a physician and a social worker, and which concerns itself exclusively with marriage and home problems.

The Tulsa City Schools and Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College organized "The First State School for Parents" at Tulsa on December 12 and 13, 1929, in cooperation with the Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education of Oklahoma Congress of Parents and Teachers. Mrs. Charles Johnson, Miss Kate North, Dr. Merle Prunty, Mrs. Margaret Yost, Mrs. John Rice and Dr. W. B. Bizzell presided over the various sessions. Among the speak-

ers were Dr. Ruth Andrus, State Specialist in Parent Education, New York State, Miss Edith Thomas, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, D. C., Miss Flora M. Thurston, Executive Secretary, National Council of Parent Education, New York City, Miss Anna E. Richardson, Field Worker in Child Development and Parent Education, American Home Economics Association, and Miss Agnes Tillson, Specialist in Parent Education, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit. Another state program will be held in Oklahoma City in February.

A sum of \$1,200,000, known as the Lincoln Scholarship Fund, is being raised by some fifty college presidents and a hundred men *New Scholarship Fund Available* and women in public life to provide loans for men and women, regardless of age, race, color or creed, who desire and cannot afford a college education. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, and William J. Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, are members of the advisory committee. The money is to be raised by the sale of thirty-year debenture bonds instead of through donations, the holders foregoing the interest. The students are encouraged to borrow from the Fund instead of risking their health and academic success in an attempt to work their way through college.

Of the six aspects of family life to be discussed in the Evening Conference Series on "The Family" now being given at the Child Study Association, none is more significant than that presented at the first conference by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer. "The Effect of Changes in the Structure of Activities of the Home" seems to Mrs. Spencer to emphasize the fundamental problem of preserving the home as a thing of the spirit, in the midst of changed and changing material conditions.

DEFINING "HOME"

Mrs. Spencer began by pointing out that "home" and "household" are not synonymous. Though she dealt with the more spiritual aspects of the home rather than with the structure of the household, she made it clear that the activities and structure of the household carry certain implications for the home. The enormous changes in the structure and activities of the household are directly traceable to the industrial revolution, which has wrought great changes in the lives of men and even greater changes in the lives of women. But the most far-reaching change of all is that upon children's

lives. The reality of life in the old form of domestic handicraft industry to which the child contributed has disappeared. To offset this deficiency in the life of the modern child, progressive schools have introduced manual training and art work as an essential factor in education. This has been a great help in making the school a "slice of life" and thereby reintroducing the sense of reality into the child's life. But although these courses give the child an insight into the physical world, they do not supply the old ethical drive that came with his participation in real life situations.

A recent survey of progressive schools has selected the country boarding school for young children as the nearest approach to the ideal school. Mrs. Spencer, however, disagrees with this opinion. There are many social indications that the relationship between parents and children in the home creates a certain atmosphere which no school can supply. Children need a sense of security and of belonging and often thrive even with parents who are far from wise. Even with the shrinkage of the modern household, the family is the one place in which the young child belongs. It is merely the shell of the home that has changed, but the essentials can still be retained: mutual affection and consideration, a deep sense of mutual responsibility. Our most progressive educators are beginning to realize that the school is *serving* the home rather than assuming its functions. In the nursery schools, the technique of parent education is becoming more and more a vital part of the program. There are many problems involved in the structural change in the modern household, but the essential problem is the preservation of the home as the most important educational factor in the life of the young child. This is the new responsibility that devolves upon parents, and every effort should be made by the community to help them meet it.

FREEDOM IN FAMILY LIFE

Dr. Edward Sapir, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, brought a fresh and stimulating point of view to his discussion of "The New Freedom and Its Effect upon Home and Family," which he presented at the second evening conference on January 13.

Some form of family organization has always existed, but as Dr. Sapir pointed out, it has never been static in structure, and has varied greatly in different societies. We must therefore look upon present-day family life as an institution with many characteristics which are not necessarily fundamental to its survival.

We must admit, Dr. Sapir believes, that the family as we know it cannot be saved on the old terms. For there are forces in our modern world which are in-

evitably weakening it. The most significant of these is the economic insignificance of the family. The old-time family was a self-contained economic entity revolving around one individual as head, who was its chief provider and to whom all other members of the family contributed their efforts. Furthermore, this old-time family helped itself to an extent not possible today and the home was considered fairly permanent. The psychological and emotional significance of this point of view is an incalculably important factor for the survival of the family.

Another disintegrating force is the change in the symbolism of housing. The modern family has no powerful external symbol as represented by the home of former days. This is the result of modern scientific techniques in housekeeping and the maximum utilization of space in house planning. Home in the purely spatial sense is no longer the reality it was in former days and the members of the modern family "live" only metaphorically in their quarters, carry on much of their activity outside the home, according to their individual interests and needs.

The third factor is modern transportation. This makes it possible for the members of the family to have multiple participations in various concerns which perhaps never overlap. The psychological effect is to build up feelings of individuality such as the members of the traditional family never felt. The possibility of individual travel to satisfy personal needs and desires is a disintegrating force upon the inclusiveness and unity of the old-time family.

But the most important determinant in the breaking up process of modern family life is the growing economic independence of women. This seems to be the result of a peculiarly American phenomenon: the fact that the American man has looked upon the family as being associated primarily with woman, with himself as husband and father in the rôle of onlooker and provider. This aloof attitude has led to an unconscious protest by the woman against domestic life and is the psychological explanation of her growing economic independence. Any real improvement in family life can come only through the transvaluation of life in the home for both men and women.

But despite all these disintegrating forces in modern life Dr. Sapir believes that the family will survive, even though it may not manifest the traditional characteristics. We are now in a transitional period, but time will teach us to build up a new set of home values. The very tendency in modern life to test all social values by the individual renders the old institutional family no longer necessary or effective; the new family will become the symbol of a new orientation to life and of a better evaluation of real and vital human relationships.

Joseph Lee, President of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, spoke on "Children's Leisure" at an afternoon conference at Child Study Association Headquarters on January 14. Mr. Lee showed how the needs and interests of children at various periods of their development indicate their leisure requirements. Giving a child leisure is not just "letting him alone," but requires skill and understanding. There are three facts that a mother must recognize about her baby: that he is social, scientific and naturally uses his big muscles. Mr. Lee emphasized the point that the baby be permitted to discover things for himself. By this means he makes his first great classifications; in this respect he is scientific. He needs play with his mother to satisfy his social needs.

The period from three to six is the age of make-believe and is of momentous importance in the life of the child. The imagination of the child at this age must be given free play, for it is the beginning of every form of worth while activity. Showing a child what to do at this period interferes with his inner growth by breaking up those first images which are the deepest realities in human consciousness. This is the time for him to feel life as a whole through the activity of his imagination, which will never again have the same force and reality for him.

From six years to adolescence, the child wants to explore the world of reality and to measure himself against others of his age. This is the time for him to acquire those skills through which he can compete with his fellows. The school has its place in the life of the child at this time, for education is a real experience to him while he is getting it. But he should also have leisure, which means a time to be himself without interference from outside. This will usually find expression in some form of play, for play is the exercise nature prescribes to help children grow up into human beings. Mr. Lee made a plea for the reinstatement of those old-fashioned games which were the expression of the child's natural impulses, in contradistinction to the modern practice of training all children to participate in the team games at present fashionable.

Nothing is more important, Mr. Lee believes, than timeliness; the essential fact to be borne in mind in considering children's leisure is that the child must be allowed to fulfill each stage of his growth. For in leisure, as in education, nothing can be gained until the child is ready for it. The child's leisure interests and activities must therefore grow if leisure is to be truly constructive at every level. Timeliness is the touchstone by which parents and teachers must continually test its significance.

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Children's
Leisure**

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over WEAF
Fridays at 2:15 p.m.*

Questions about which parents ask advice will be answered over the radio beginning with the first Friday afternoon in February. This new departure will be carried on by staff members of the Child Study Association. One or two questions will be taken up each week; they will be answered directly and further points suggested by them will also be discussed. Questions may be sent care of WEAF, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Announcements

A series of talks on "Bringing up Children," arranged by Jessie A. Charters, is being broadcast every Tuesday at 10:00 a.m. over station WEAO by the Ohio State Department of Education.

Beginning with January, 1930, *Progressive Education*, the journal of the Progressive Education Association, is being issued as a monthly. Many new features will be introduced, and a broader policy concerning all phases of contemporary educational developments adopted.

In order that the delegates representing the various affiliated groups may become better acquainted with the many activities of the Association, several meetings have been added to the year's program of the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education. In addition to the regular program, Miss Carolyn Hoefer addressed the January meeting on "The Result of an Intensive Health Program on the Physical and Mental Growth of School Children." Dr. Clara Davis, of the Children's Memorial Hospital, will discuss her nutrition experiments with young children at the February meeting on "Feeding of Young Children."

The United Parents' Associations will offer to its members for the fifth year a series of lectures on the "Principles of Organization," under the auspices of New York University. The lectures will be held on Tuesday evenings at 8:00 p.m. in the Main Building of the University, beginning with February 4.

"Education and the Larger Life" will be the general topic of the Tenth Annual Conference of the Progressive Education Association, at the Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C., on April 3-5.

Coming Events

The Child Study Association of America announces the following program of activities at its Headquarters, 54 West 74th Street:

Afternoon Conference

NEW AND NEWER PSYCHOLOGIES

Tuesday, January 28 at 3:30 p.m.

Dr. Robert S. Woodworth

CRITICAL ASPECTS OF ADOLESCENT PSYCHOLOGY

Tuesday, February 4 at 3:30 p.m.

Dr. L. A. Pechstein

Evening Conference Series

THE FAMILY

Mondays, from January 6 through February 10

MONEY AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE INTER- RELATIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS

January 27 at 8:30 p.m.

Dr. Benjamin R. Andrews

Discussion opened by Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg

CONFLICTS AND ADJUSTMENTS IN THE HOME

February 3 at 8:30 p.m.

Dr. Fritz Wittels

Discussion opened by Dr. Leonard Blumgart

REEDUCATION AND CONTINUITY OF EDUCATION FOR PARENTS

February 10 at 8:30 p.m.

Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg

Discussion opened by Prof. Helen T. Woolley

This series is open to members on presentation of special admission cards, which may be secured from Headquarters. A joint membership of \$15, identical with the single \$10 membership, is offered to husbands and wives. They receive one set of literature, and each is entitled to full privileges.

From CHILD STUDY readers

What do you think about boys playing with dolls?

Practical suggestions and a very sane point of view are suggested in this letter from a Kentucky mother, written in answer to one of the Parents' Questions in the January CHILD STUDY.

Will you share with other readers your comments—and your questionings—on any of the discussions in CHILD STUDY?

"In this day when we are trying to overcome the tradition that fathers are less concerned and less responsible for their children than mothers, is it [the boy's love of dolls] not a fine interest to foster? If the boy has less than normal interest in other activities, and is therefore classed as a 'sissy,' why not use positive rather than negative persuasion: Why not merely introduce other enticing activities to give him a balanced ration? There is a whole wealth of variety in handwork (carpenter's tools are too seldom found, and are possible with children from eighteen months on, as personally proven), and pets are another rich source of constructive activity.

"If, on the other hand, the boy seems to be quite normal and have many vital traits and interests, is it not desirable, even necessary, that he maintain just the qualities which are fostered by playing with dolls? My six-year-old can manage a frisky pony, uses almost a dozen carpenter's tools, is interested in geography, astronomy, history, etc., and I am glad to see that he still loves to play with dolls very tenderly, on occasion. I am glad, furthermore, that he has a father who shares generously his time and thought for the problems and interests of his children."

From Russia and India study group mothers have recently written that they have found the pamphlet series, "Studies in Child Training," published by the Child Study Association of America, very helpful to them in their work, particularly those on "Habit" and "Sex Education." They, as well as others who know and use these pamphlets, will wish to see the revised edition of "Answering Children's Questions" and the new titles "Play and Playthings" and "Habits—What Are They?" which are being published. Send us your name now so that you will receive these on publication.

Parents' Questions

A discussion of what may be implied when parents and teachers use rewards.

Question: Shall we praise and reward young children for such accomplishments as dressing themselves, putting on rubbers, washing themselves, and similar self-help toward which we want to encourage them?

Discussion: Young children do need outside incentives to do difficult things. They are especially eager for adult approval, and our praise is therefore often as effective as a material reward would be. But while we must give freely of our praise when it is deserved, we must also progressively transfer the child's interest from that of winning approval to his own satisfactions in accomplishment. Sooner or later we shall come to accept these small achievements and skills as matters of course, and no longer applaud them. We must therefore be sure that skills come to seem worth while for their own sakes rather than as instruments with which to win praise or reward.

Question: When a child asks for some particular gift or treat, is it legitimate to make our granting of the request contingent upon her behavior, as when we say, "Yes, you shall have a doll carriage on your birthday provided you are a good girl until then"?

Discussion: This type of pressure is confusing and usually insincere. In the first place, this is an utterly impossible stipulation, since no child can "be good" consistently for a long period. And when, knowing her own failure to live up to the requirement, she nevertheless receives the promised gift or treat, we will have weakened her faith and confidence in our sincerity. In the second place, in thus holding out our gifts as a club for good behavior we confuse the issues in the child's mind. What has "being good" or "being bad" to do with the child's supply of playthings? If her request is a reasonable one, and if the plaything or other treat she asks for is a desirable thing for her to have on its own merits, then the only question involved is the feasibility of getting it for her—its cost, its size (considering available space to use it), its availability, and so on. These are the grounds on which any requests should be given or withheld.

Question: Of two sisters, the younger is always cooperative and helpful in the family life, while the

These questions, raised and discussed by parents in study groups, show how wide is the range of use and abuse in rewards. At home and at school familiar devices in discipline are examined in the light of recent concepts and attitudes.

elder helps only when required to do so, and then with very bad grace. The mother, therefore, takes every opportunity to reward the younger girl with special treats and privileges, and to impress upon the older sister the

fact that she is not sharing these because of her uncooperative attitude. Is this a legitimate use of rewards, and is it wise?

Discussion: It is important to examine such a situation carefully. If the younger child is genuinely cooperative and helps because she really enjoys being useful and busy, an extraneous reward is likely only to undermine her fine attitude toward helpfulness for its own sake. Sometimes, however, a child is eager to be helpful simply as a means of winning praise—or of "putting herself across" on this basis—or of using it as a means toward preference over her sister. If this is the case, to reward her efforts will put a premium on this meager kind of success, shutting out efforts in other and possibly more developmental fields of activity.

The older child, too, is an important consideration, since, after all, the reward to the younger sister is being used as pressure upon the older one. What are her difficulties? What is she fighting in herself or in the environment that finds expression in her unsocial attitude? If jealousy and a feeling of inferiority to the more socially adaptable younger sister are among her difficulties, will she be helped by seeing her sister additionally favored by rewards? It seems likely that it is this older child who needs to be helped to find satisfactions in social cooperation. It is probably this girl, rather than her sister, who needs the stimulation of praise and legitimate reward for effort and success in her family relationships.

Question: Should children be rewarded (with money payment or otherwise) for doing necessary household tasks?

Discussion: In most households there are certain tasks—chores for which outside paid help would ordinarily be called upon—which children sometimes ask to do as a way of earning extra money. For such service they may surely expect to be paid—but this payment should be freely given as an *earned wage* for

work done, rather than a *reward* for special favors. A certain amount of assistance, however, in the common tasks of the household should be expected as a matter of course—and children can be brought to understand that they must share the obligations as they share the benefits of the home, in proportion to their capacity to do so. For work which is commonly done by some member of the family the child should not expect payment or reward.

Question: May we use a child's allowance as a reward for good behavior, reducing or augmenting it in accordance with his conduct for a given period?

Discussion: The allowance should be a fixed amount, determined only by the child's needs, and altered only as those needs change. When we relate the allowance to qualifications of behavior we defeat its chief purpose and value as an instrument in teaching the use of money. Furthermore, by placing an arbitrary price upon certain kinds of behavior, we confuse the child's standards of values, and cloud his judgments as to the issues involved in behavior.

Question: Should a child be rewarded for a spontaneous confession of his guilt in connection with some neighborhood mischief?

Discussion: If we are to put a price on truth telling, what price? How shall we evaluate, in terms of material reward, the character trait of honesty? In rewarding a child for such a confession, our idea is to teach him that it "pays" to tell the truth. Do we, then, also want to teach him that honesty always "pays" in terms of material reward? At some point we will have to stop paying for honesty with rewards, and we would not then want him to stop telling the truth when he finds that it no longer "pays."

Truth telling is a slowly acquired technique in social relationships. It will be developed gradually in an environment which is conducive to faith and confidence, among adults who are essentially truthful.

Question: A father has offered his seventeen-year-old son a large money reward if he will abstain from smoking altogether until he is twenty-one. Is this a good way to secure the desired result?

Discussion: Assuming that there is a legitimate health or other reason for which this father is asking such total abstinence, may not this reason itself be used as the basis of an appeal to a boy of this age? If the boy understands and sympathizes with the reason for not smoking, he can make an intelligent effort of his own toward an end which he may consider worth while in itself. Unless he does understand and sympathize, there is a strong possibility first, that such a far-off reward (four years is a long time for a seventeen-year-old) will make for surreptitious smok-

ing; or second, that he will decide outright that he prefers the present pleasure of smoking to the remote satisfactions of the reward offered. Against such a decision there would then be no appeal except peremptory prohibition—an unwise and usually ineffectual procedure. Furthermore, do we not, by such an offer, place money on too high a plane of desirability—to be desired for its own sake above other coveted pleasures?

Question: A parent questions the practice of one elementary school of awarding the school banner each week to the class having the best average attendance.

Discussion: This system seems to penalize children for circumstances over which they have no control, and similarly to reward them for results which may be pure accident and which involve no effort on their own part. This type of group reward may have several unfortunate effects: it makes for an unsympathetic attitude toward classmates who are ill or otherwise unavoidably absent; while it is likely to make the child who is ill unnecessarily unhappy—to give him an erroneous sense of being disloyal to his class ideal of "perfect attendance." Where this system of rewards is in use in the school the parent can mitigate the difficulties by explaining to her child the reasons for, and objects of, this stress on attendance, at the same time helping him to keep a sense of proportion as between individual needs and group spirit and loyalty.

Punctuality and regularity in school attendance should be established on a basis of the child's responsibility to himself. In this way only can we build up in him positive qualities that will not depend upon others for their values. Thus we defeat our own purpose if we allow him to feel that his own efforts are negated by the carelessness or shortcomings of others. Furthermore, this responsibility for the actions of his whole group is too heavy a burden to place upon a child.

Question: A child has gone from a progressive school where there is no system of marks, to a large high school where marks are "the thing." She has become so much engrossed in making good marks that her parents are concerned lest this indicate an unfortunate shift of interest from the work itself.

Discussion: This need not be an indication of a shift of interest but may be, rather, a temporary new interest, in the nature of a response to a totally new situation. Quite possibly it will be short lived. If, however, the interest in marks seems really threatening to eclipse the more vital interest in the work itself, the parents can do much to keep the child's sense of values by their own attitude toward her achievements. Without deprecating marks as such, they can emphasize by their own interest and approval the content of her school work rather than her success in terms of marks.

(Continued on page 155)

Books

TAKING STOCK IN PARENT EDUCATION LITERATURE

Newer Ways with Children. By M. V. O'Shea. Greenberg Publisher, Inc. 1929. 419 pages.

It is always a matter of keen regret when the work of one who has been justly recognized as a leader proves disappointing. When one has come to depend on a carefully selected list of authors for a fairly uniform standard of material, it is particularly depressing to find that this opinion has outlived its soundness. "Newer Ways with Children" proves beyond a doubt that even those who pride themselves on original thinking should achieve a periodic inventory of their intellectual stock-in-trade.

An intelligent mother confessed to me that she lost her faith in a psychologist whom she had always regarded as an "original thinker" after he recommended to her this most recent publication of Dr. O'Shea's. When she asked the psychologist what he really thought of it, he dismissed the matter with, "I haven't read the book, but I always thought well of O'Shea."

But with this warning the writer hastened to read this book for she too had been recommending it unhesitatingly on the basis of O'Shea's former writings.

The most charitable criticism of the book is that it is innocuous. It reads like a chatty column in a lady's journal conducted by a country doctor. It makes no contribution whatever to the field of child training but is rather a regression to the so-called "common sense" level of approach. One must search almost between the lines for any proof that the author has been touched by the breath of the newer psychologies.

But not even such popular psychology can afford to use the term instinct quite so unscientifically as does the author. For example, "Every child is born with the instinct to take anything he can lay his hands on that promises to give him pleasure" (p. 238), by which the author probably means that a child is born with the sense of touch and vision, among other senses, which soon combine into a manipulative behavior pattern. Equally irritating is O'Shea's tendency to stretch to the breaking point the recapitulation theory of development. Thus in partial explanation of the destructive behavior of children we are told that "his remote ancestors had no dishes, and the young child is much nearer his remote than his immediate ancestors in his esthetic and hygienic interests" (p. 235). Among the chief annoyances is also the all too frequent and silly personification of nature, as "When a child comes into this world, nature seems to say to him, 'Look out

for your own interests. Whenever you see anything you wish, try to secure it. Make others serve you so that you will be able to add to your pleasures and reduce your pains.'"

"Newer Ways with Children" is to be deplored not simply because it is smug and superficial, but particularly because it is the product of a man who knows better. For Dr. O'Shea's name has become almost a household word among those who have been eagerly looking for interpretation of new ideas about the training of children. For this reason it would not be fair to close without emphasizing again that throughout long pioneer years Dr. O'Shea has been associated with many creditable editorial enterprises which have contributed in no small share to the popularization and availability of parent education.

AUGUSTA ALPERT, PH.D.

HOW THE PRESENTDAY LOOKS AT AN AGE-OLD PROBLEM

The Sex Life of Youth. By Grace Loucks Elliott and Harry Bone. Association Press. 1929. 146 pages.

To hear that this book represents the findings of a commission would certainly leave most people unprepared for its attitude of refreshing frankness and human fellowship. "The Sex Life of Youth" is the outcome of discussions of a commission on the "Relations Between College Men and Women" appointed by the Executive Body of the Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. This step was taken in response to continued demands for help on sex matters made by colleges, student councils and conferences throughout the country. The commission consisted not only of students but of representatives of "all possible viewpoints: younger and older, married and unmarried, engaged and unengaged, student and faculty, specialist, layman and parent." They sought to face particularly the problems of young people of student age with respect to the relation of sex to life, giving special attention to the conditions of modern life and the peculiar difficulties of the present generation.

The material gathered by this group through many months of discussing, evaluating and sifting was finally worked into book form by the discussion leaders, Grace Loucks Elliott and Harry Bone. The resultant volume is welcomed as a most valuable con-

tribution to the literature on this complex and many-sided topic.

No claim is laid to any complete or final solution of the relationship between young men and women, but the book lays bare the facts as they exist in the world of today and suggests evaluations which should help youth to build for itself. In a quite remarkable manner, the authors avoid the cloying sentimentality which has so often spoiled books on sex matters, particularly the earlier ones. Yet they accomplish this desirable freedom from sentimentalism without falling into the error of making the treatment so coldly scientific as to lose touch with the actual human situation. The outlook throughout is modern—in its broad humanity, absence of didactic decisions and lack of censure, it may even be too modern for some; the problems examined are the actual difficulties of the present-day young man and woman; and the discussion is frank, open and complete. There is a happy balance between the importance placed on the physiological, psychological and spiritual factors involved.

The book may be recommended to all—young or old—who need information and help on sex matters, whether for themselves or for guiding youth "to build their lives on as adequate a basis of facts and ideals as possible."

ENID TRIBE OPPENHEIMER, *Chairman*
Bibliography Committee of the
Child Study Association of America

WHAT CHILD GUIDANCE MEANS

Mental Hygiene and Social Work. By Porter R. Lee and Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D. The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications. 1929. 309 pages.

In casting up the accounts of the Bureau of Children's Guidance—carried on for five years by the New York School of Social Work as part of the Commonwealth Fund program for the prevention of delinquency—Mr. Lee and Dr. Kenworthy have made not merely a "report" but an authoritative presentation of mental hygiene in child guidance. Its statement of the fundamental mechanisms inherent in parent-child relationships is excellent; and its illustrative case histories, unlike those found in many books on mental mechanisms, are well chosen and make the reader aware that a human being is a subtle and complex creature and not the simple, rather crude organism so often and so unscientifically presented. Because of these qualities of excellence the book's value will extend beyond the small professional group to every one interested in child guidance and in particular to parents themselves.

The criticism leveled against early child guidance work, that it was full of reproaches aimed at the par-

ents, can no longer be sustained if this book is an indication of the present approach. This is illustrated by Porter Lee's statement, "From no point of view can the contribution of child guidance be given a higher value than from the point of view of the relief which it has given to overburdened parents."

Those who are concerned with child guidance in its more general aspects rather than in its specific relation to social work will probably find the first section of the book most valuable and stimulating. This comprises a discussion of the application of mental hygiene to various problems—among them problems centering in the mother, in the father, in the broken home, and in illness, making the weaning process constructive, the rôle of the other children.

True development is conceived throughout these presentations to depend upon both the sustained emotional security of the child and his progress toward ever increasing autonomy and self-responsibility. It is repeatedly pointed out that all behavior must be regarded as serving a psychological purpose in the life of the individual and providing satisfactions of one sort or another, so that if a real change in behavior is to be brought about, its accomplishment must be looked for through rearranging these fundamentals.

The second part of the book is concerned with education for psychiatric social work and may perhaps be of less general value, though even here parents and leaders of child study groups will be interested in the social worker as viewed by the psychiatrist and the educator.

Viewing the book as a whole, it is noticeable that only cursory mention is made of the fact that the inherited endowments of individuals do differ. While no one would deny the great importance of family relationships and other environmental influences, it seems to the present reviewer pertinent, at this point in the development of child guidance work, to include some discussion of the part which original endowment plays in the behavior of the individual. Or are we supposed to believe, as one might imply from this discussion, that native endowment actually has *no* bearing? Granted that environmental factors are the only ones over which we can exercise control, intelligent parents are still entitled to be given as complete a picture as the psychiatrist can paint. Discussion and analysis of the development of sex behavior and sex awareness are also almost entirely lacking—in the eyes of the reviewer, an important omission.

In spite of these points, the handling of the content is on the whole so well organized and the approach so human as to make the book indispensable. It fills a need for which we have no other source nearly so direct, complete or authoritative.

RUTH BRICKNER, M.D.

The "Catch" in Praise

(Continued from page 135)

promised the girl five dollars for a coveted trinket if she could maintain a grade of 80 for every subject in the spring term. Success followed her offer, Mary got the 80 and the five dollars. The next week she took the term examinations, for which the mother had hoped to prepare her in this way, and flunked them all. Whether Mary failed because she was over-anxious on her mother's account, indifferent after the reward was once earned, or unconsciously needing to get even with her mother for all the pressure she had endured, we do not know, but the lack of any genuine motivation was evident even to the mother.

Sometimes the insecurity of this form of control is apparent even to the child who seeks it. Particularly is this in evidence when it is a question of material reward. A little girl of seven who annoyed her foster parents very much with enuresis, which did not respond readily to treatment, was promised an orange for breakfast whenever she could report a dry bed. This was successful for some time, but the child appeared to be worrying about something and on being asked what was wrong, replied, "But what will you do, mother, when you can't afford to give me oranges any more? Can I have an extra egg for my breakfast?" One can easily see that she was confronted with the necessity of holding on to a reward which would cease once the enuresis was really overcome and under her control. She was obliged to wet the bed occasionally just to show she was not cured and that rewards must continue. Realizing the unsoundness of this plan, she feared for the orange supply or in other words, that her foster parents would weary of this game of taking the responsibility, or perhaps would resort to punishment. How do we adults expect a child ever to take over responsibility for behavior, when he can receive a reward for not doing what he is supposed to be unable to control or a punishment for doing it? Even the adult finds it convenient often to let the partner act as conscience and control, to remain irresponsible, knowing that the other person's will has taken the responsibility for checking up, nagging or reproaching.

Like rewards, praise which implies an underlying lack of confidence, too great a surprise at achievement, is an insult. No one is reassured by it, least of all the child. There is, however, a respectful sincere appreciation based on objective understanding of what the other has tried to do, or a spontaneous joy in a given result, a sharing in the happiness of the creator, which is educationally sound and the truest encouragement which can be offered. For this type of response, there should be another name than praise. It implies no superiority, no assumption of the right

to criticize or approve the personality of another. Rather it rests on true identification, which permits one to enter into the work or behavior of another without resistance. From such a point of vantage, even criticism without taint of blame or fault finding is possible. Such critical appraisal from within is more satisfying, more flattering than any praise, for it indicates that some one has seen us, has understood.

PRICELESS SYMPATHY

Perhaps it is the rare teacher, the rare parent, the rare friend who thus meets a fundamental need and offers a growth experience in the atmosphere of objective understanding which he throws about our efforts to achieve or express. Yet such is the atmosphere which the child demands for his educational and emotional freeing. It is vital for the child to find within himself springs of action which will lead to experiment, to experiences of failure as well as success, not failure to please an adult, but failure to please himself, to experiences of pain and pleasure not externally imposed, and always to a growing reliance on himself and a growing satisfaction in working through his own purposes for weal or woe. To have such springs of action choked or poisoned by the adult's personal need to praise or blame or to project his own problem on the child, in terms of reward and punishment, is not only detrimental to growth but will postpone or even prevent his taking over of responsibility.

The "catch" in praise is not a joke. We and our children may easily be caught therein, if we are not able to forego its use as a substitute for that true control which grows only from within.

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IN THE MAGAZINES

Behaviorism and Education. By Frederick E. Bolton. *School and Society*, November 30, 1929.

An individual interpretation of the behavioristic school of psychology. The writer credits its contribution on the side of giving a more scientific and less introspective interpretation of human behavior, but the emphasis entails but half the behavior manifestations because of the exclusion of consciousness and instincts which involve heritage.

Character Building and Stealing. By Harry M. Tiebout and Mary Coburn. *Religious Education*, December, 1929.

The ability to withstand the temptation to steal is based upon a regard for property rights. The means and necessity of developing this regard early in childhood are discussed by the authors.

Facts About Bright Children. By Leta S. Hollingsworth. *Babyhood*, December, 1929.

The answers to the questions treated indicate that one of the ways of identifying brightness in very young children is the early use of words; that a superior or bright child shows control and emotional balance; that health on the whole is in his favor.

The Organization of Child Guidance and Developmental Supervision. By Arnold Gesell. *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1929.

Child guidance must at all times be directed toward developing the individual to his optimum growth with the full resources of the community.

Parent Education in the Church. By Amalie K. Nelson. *Religious Education*, December, 1929.

The general emphasis is on the need for parent education approaching the educational problems objectively and impersonally. The author relates the same principles of education in pointing out ways and means of organizing parents' groups in the church.

Sex, the Scapegoat. By Jessie Taft. *Babyhood*, December, 1929.

It is the writer's contention that the child of today is ready to accept factual information about sex the same as he receives any other factual knowledge about himself and his environment, provided it can be given him as objectively as any other educational material within his learning scope. If the parent's fear is concentrated on manifestations such as enuresis, thumb sucking, masturbation, it can become the carrier of fear and failure.

Sin or Symptoms? By Smiley Blanton and Mary Howell Ross. *Survey Graphic*, December 1, 1929.

An analysis of the types of questions and questioners who apply to religious leaders for advice. There is a plea for including mental hygiene and education in parent-child relationships in prescribed courses of theological colleges.

Teaching the Deaf Child. By Margaret E. Daniels. *Child Welfare*, October, 1929.

The early education of "George" is described; a child who was born deaf, but who by means of intelligent education developed interests and skills.

Their Own Money. By Nell B. Nicholls. *Woman's Home Companion*, January, 1930.

An interview with Mrs. Alma H. Jones, Iowa State College, on the use of money as a factor in the educational development of the child. Sound and helpful suggestions are offered.

Theory of Moral Education. By Blanche Walker. *Chicago Schools Journal*, November, 1929.

Consciously or unconsciously education for weal or woe proceeds through the home, school, church and society. The responsibility of the school as such is according to the writer in its indirect approach to moral education giving the student opportunities to discover moral truths; to give him purposeful desire for study and work; to give him opportunity and practice in habits of desirable obedience, industry, thoughtfulness, truthfulness on the basis that character is an interpretation of habits.

Vitalizing the High-School Curriculum. Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, September, 1929.

An inclusive manual considering the courses of study in relation to industrial and social changes since 1890.

Voice and Emotions. By Smiley Blanton. *Babyhood*, September, 1929.

The child's emotional development is greatly influenced through the use of the voice by the parent and by others of his environment. The fundamental emotions expressed by means of the voice are anger or irritability, fear or anxiety, love.

What Is Parent Education? By Flora M. Thurston. *Child Welfare*, October, 1929.

Deals with the idea of parents and other adults as primarily educators of children rather than owners, guardians and providers.

ART AND THE NEW BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

Modern Picture Books

“**C**HILDREN are in the main still artists, while adults have too often ceased to be,” wrote Hughes Mearns not so long ago. In the realm of children’s books there is a new leaven—a new consciousness—at work. Through psychological clinic and schoolroom we are finding out what children like in story and picture book. Forward looking publishers, increasingly aware of modern tendencies, are calling upon teachers, child study specialists and parents to pass upon subject matter and art content in new publications. In spite of the many insignificant books in this year’s deluge, some of the new volumes for children are eloquent of the change and progress in their make-up. They are well bound, with excellent print, and paper of good quality. The jackets and end-papers are interesting and artistic.

Such importance has visual illustration assumed that picture books of various types for all ages have been developed. Since love for art grows by what it feeds upon, the exposure to fine art should begin early, and be continuous and varied. The first picture book should consist of a series of simple illustrations, beautiful in spirit and gay in color. The pictures may be self-explanatory, or helped by a very simple text. Art picture books can become a major sport at an early age. But we must know our child’s interest and select his picture books from the point of view of what he likes, offering him a variety of art picture books rather than imposing upon him what we like. We can, it is true, build up artistic values by the contagion of our enthusiasm but we must have faith even when the child’s growth in art appreciation seems slow.

For our best picture books we have gone to Europe, where artists have long ago dedicated themselves to interpreting beauty for the nursery age. To the European artist, then, we owe our recognition of the child’s need for child-like subject, for beauty of color and simplicity of line. American publishers are today offering us a variety of gay picture books; for some of which the illustrations were printed abroad and the text altered to meet the needs of American children. Books of this type are painted by artist-authors who have created these pictures for their own children.

“Peregrin and the Goldfish” is a delightful picture story with real appeal to children, given them by the well known artist-author-mother, Mrs. Tom Seidmann Freud. “Pelle’s New Suit,” from the Swedish by Elsa Beskow, is an inimitable and simple picture book for the child who wants to know about the world

in which he lives. Charming little children, gaily playing with toys and animals, are painted by Elsa Eisgruber, the German artist, in “Spin Top Spin.” A quaint Christmas tale in exquisite lithographs is the contribution of Elsa Wenz-Vietor in “St. Nicholas in Trouble” by Felix Timmermans. The great English artist, William Nicholson, has given us in “Pirate Twins” a rollicking picture story, told with great simplicity and charm. In this book as in “The Velveteen Rabbit” his rich background and poetic imagination, his fine sense of rhythm and color, are part and parcel of his picture book art.

There is, in English translation with interesting colored illustrations, a group of picture books by famous foreign artists who have, perhaps, a different attitude than our own toward cruelty, meanness and duplicity in the animal world. Louis Moe, distinguished Scandinavian artist, is the protagonist of this school; his “Raggle Taggle Bear,” “Adventures of Three Little Pigs” and “The Vain Pussy Cat” are jolly animal books, gay in color, full of action but portraying animals with some of the unpleasant human motives. Moe’s humor, like that of other Scandinavian and Czech artists, is occasionally coarse and sometimes cruel. This may make his pictures unsuitable for sensitive children.

A Czech master of brilliant color is Rudolf Mates, who has sent us in translation three animal picture books: “A Forest Story,” “The Magic Flutes” and “Nursery Rhymes from Bohemia.” His outstanding contribution is his brilliant decorative design and his portrayal of the naïveté and gaiety of peasant life.

“Little Black Stories for Little White Children” by Blaise Cendrars, translated from the French, is a notable example of American book making, though it is not, as its title would lead one to think, suitable for young children. It dramatizes the philosophy of cruelty and the exoticism of the African jungle. The arresting two-tone woodcuts by Pierre Ponsard are beautiful in line, primitive and grotesque. They do not seem to illustrate the text; rather they are the means of a fine modern decorative expression which is not child-like at all.

Real, child-like interpretation on the other hand does breathe through the work of several American artists with recent European background. Such is the art of Wanda Ga’g, a young American artist of Scandinavian extraction, whose “The Funny Thing” is a humorous story with an old world simplicity. Her “Millions of Cats” was beloved by children and grown-ups alike, and has become an American nursery classic. Quite a different interpretation of the animal picture book is offered by Kurt Wiese, German by birth, American by adoption. “Karoo, the Kangaroo” is a “solemn sweet story” of kangaroo babyhood with

the background of the Australian bush. The pictures—three-tone lithographed crayons—are full of action and the drama of animal childhood. Willy Pogany, Hungarian by birth, American in spirit, has given us "Mother Goose" and "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" in modern dress. His pictures are utterly unlike the inimitable Caldecott, and his bobbed haired Alice is certainly not in the Tenniel tradition. But for children with no tradition to prejudice their taste, his modern characterization has a strong appeal. He paints in gay colors and in a twentieth century spirit; but in this newest effort he does not achieve the artistry of his "Children's Homer" or his "Children's Odin."

From native American artist-authors have come several interesting picture story books. These include "The Runaway Sardine," a humorous fish story by Emma Brock, whose illustrations are a successful experiment in crayon; "The Story of Woofin Poofin," a brilliantly colored china-dog story by Marguerite Buller; "Miki," the story of a real boyhood in Hungary, written and gaily illustrated by Maud and Miska Petersham (the latter Hungarian by birth) for their son; Berta and Elmer Hader's "Monkey Tale," with its bright color and decorative quality.

An interesting departure is the publication of the work of child artists, "Tigers and Things," a picture book by Andy Kauffman and his small sister. The pictures are exact reproductions of the water color drawings of animals seen by these children at the zoo. Also another type of child art is seen in "The Ivory Throne of Persia" by Dorothy Coit. The illustrations are the work of the children at the King Coit Children's School of Acting and Design. Here older children have absorbed the Persian epic and interpreted it with great delicacy. Interesting and fruitful as are these experiments in child illustration, we must use judgment and restraint in publishing child art, lest we fall into the error of urging children to illustrate—as we have urged them to write—more voluminously than discriminately.

Any evaluation of modern illustrators would be incomplete without mention of Elizabeth MacKinstry who has been a potent influence in bringing about new interest in artistic books for children. In her delightful drawings for "A Little Book of Necessary Nonsense," as in her illustrations last year of Clement Moore's "Night Before Christmas," we catch a glimpse of her background, simplicity and humor, vivid brush line and harmony of design.

Creative artists and authors are thus joining hands in offering their best art to children. Theirs is the task of recapturing childhood memories and of visioning the new, so that the children may "seek and find the keys of Heaven" and grow in love of beauty.*

ELSA H. NAUMBURG

Modern Illustrators for Older Children

In the realm of illustrations for older children's books the field narrows perceptibly and the reason is not far to seek.

The story book age is passed, and biography, history and more or less technical books are to the fore. Such books have most frequently been illustrated by photographs, or occasional drawing. There are historical books which have proven notable exceptions. Such, for example, is the "History of Mankind" by Hendrik Van Loon, ably illustrated by the author. More recently we have "Herodotus" illustrated by the inimitable Artzybasheff with great humor. Let us hope that these departures from the stereotyped may point the way to similar undertakings by others.

Legends or fairy tales for the older can be, and are, illustrated; and there are also numerous Bible Story editions graphically treated. For this type of book a recently acclaimed artist is James Daugherty, who has this year illustrated a book of Old Testament stories, "The Kingdom and the Power and the Glory." He has also done the illustrations for "Three Comedies of Shakespeare," "Courageous Companions," Charles Finger's story of the voyage of Magellan, and a new edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—certainly four widely differing subjects covering a wide range of tastes. But Daugherty's art in black and white is a sophisticated one, and his drawings, with their suggestion of brute strength, are confusing to the eye and decidedly adult. Paul Honoré's illustrations of "Heroes from Hakluyt" and "Highwaymen" by Charles Finger, are similar to Daugherty's in type.

Artzybasheff has illustrated, in addition to the "Herodotus," a book of legends "Three and the Moon" by Jacques Dorey, and has done it marvelously. His medium is both color, and black and white. An exotic combination of colors, a fantastic, almost grotesque, imagination and an exquisite sense of design and line combine to make his a most noteworthy art. For the jacket of this book in black and silver honor is due to Alfred Knopf, the publishers. The characteristic work of Artzybasheff has been known for many years in books addressed to younger children as well.

In the fairy or legend category may also be included "The Odyssey of Homer," illustrated in lovely color by N. C. Wyeth. These pictures have a real Hellenic feeling though some have a lifeless and poster-like quality. There is also a large, heavy and absurdly high priced volume of poor content, "Fairyland," illustrated by Ida Rentoul Outhwaite, who has a most exquisite, almost elfin sensitiveness in her brush and handles colors delicately. What a pity that good art should be wasted on such poor material!

The reprint of Oscar Wilde's fairy tales, "The Fisherman and His Soul," is illustrated in startling tints by Theodore Nadejen, who has also done unusual work in Walter de la Mare's "Stories from the Bible," as well as black and white drawings in a Persian biography by Youel Mirza, "Myself When Young." Nadejen's work has an architectural quality quite unique, but his color harmonies are often strained.

Among the animal stories is a reprint of Eleanor Atkinson's "Greyfriars Bobby," a well loved dog story illustrated to perfection by Margaret Kirmse, the famous etcher of dogs; and "The Chief of the Herd," an elephant epic by Mukerji, with magnificent drawings by Mahlon Blaine.

Ruth Reeves' wood blocks in Paul Fenimore Cooper's "Tal" are very interesting. Marguerite de Angeli has done beautiful work in the reprint of "Lances of Lynwood" by Charlotte Yonge.

One cannot consider illustrators for older children and pass by Pamela Bianco. The eerie quality that made such a strong appeal when she was a child-artist is missing from her more mature work. There is a delicacy of color amounting almost to pallor and a fancifulness that suggests morbidity in her present art which is eminently appropriate for that cruellest of all Oscar Wilde's tales, "The Birthday of the Infanta," which she has illustrated this year.

"Prince Bantam" by May McNeer and Lynd Ward is a new book which deserves most honorable mention. Mr. Ward has drawn a Japanese fable so heroically that one thinks constantly of the Samurai, and the whole volume is a triumph of harmonious design and book making.

Two books of art this year are outstanding because of their superb reproductions. These are "The Goldsmith of Florence" with its photographs of great art and "Art for Children" in which Ana Berry presents in color and in black and white a fine selection of pictures gathered from the museums of the world.

Among the reprints of classics, possibly the foremost is the "Twenty-Four Fables of Aesop," translated in the seventeenth century by Sir Roger L'Estrange and illustrated after etchings made in 1567 by Marcus Gheeraerts. The quaint and piquant terminology and the delicate pictures, often showing details of domestic life of the period, make this book a fascinating one to the young student or collector.

A new Hans Christian Andersen's "The Snow Queen" has drawings by Katharine Beverly and Elizabeth Ellender in black with splashes of brilliant scarlet against a white ground—interesting and unusual work which suggests the silhouette in its clarity and sharpness of outline.

"The Vicar of Wakefield" is illustrated in color by Arthur Rackham, who needs no introduction to his

public. "The Fairy Garland," a volume of rather unsympathetic French tales, has exquisite color plates by the old favorite Edmond Dulac. Of these two, Dulac alone has evolved into the newer type of brilliant illustration.

The trend of the modern illustrations, whether they be wood blocks or wood engravings or drawing, is toward contrasts of black and white, or of dull and brilliant color, producing an effect of darkness and radiance that is breath taking. They give us a feeling of space and a simplicity of line that were totally absent in the old method. Designs are masterful and somewhat conventional in a modernist manner, but the old "finished article" is happily gone and the reader—child or adult—may indulge his own imagination. In the old method the artist drew what he conceived, and to the reader the picture told the story. The modern artist draws a hint and takes the reader with him into a realm of vision—a realm of what-has-not-been-drawn—that makes potential artists of us all.*

HELEN H. SCHOLLE

* The books mentioned here are evaluated from the *art* point of view. Because the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association felt that for various reasons some of them did not warrant inclusion, certain of them have been omitted from the Selected List printed in the December, 1929, and the January, 1930, issues of CHILD STUDY. Reprints of this list may be secured from the Association.

Contributors to This Issue

DOUGLAS A. THOM

Director of Habit Clinics in Boston; Director of the Division of Mental Hygiene, Department of Mental Diseases, Massachusetts; Instructor in Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School; Author of "Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child"

JESSIE TAFT

Instructor, Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work; Supervisor, Foster Home Department of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania; Private Practice in Analysis and Clinical Psychology

GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES

Coauthor with Ernest R. Groves of "Wholesome Childhood," "Wholesome Marriage," "Parents and Children," and "Wholesome Parenthood"

DORIS SCHUMAKER

Instructor in Parent Education, Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University

Parents' Questions

(Continued from page 147)

Question: In a class of seven-year-olds the teacher has adopted a system of gold and silver stars which are awarded daily for neatness in personal appearance. The children have, as a result, an almost hysterical interest in the condition of shoes, fingernails, and other details in the daily preparation for school. Does the end here justify the means?

Discussion: One might, to begin with, question the desirability of so much emphasis upon personal neatness in seven-year-olds. But assuming that neatness were much to be desired, the reward offered seems to be wholly unrelated to the objective sought. If children are to acquire a real feeling for personal orderliness, they must be able to appreciate personal neatness in terms of real values. They will be neat and clean because this seems socially desirable, or because they find it gives others pleasure, or for their own esthetic satisfaction. The offer of an extraneous reward suggests no such values. Here, too, is another instance where a reward is given to children for effort which is not their own. While seven-year-olds do dress themselves, the details of their apparel are still, in large measure, a matter of adult responsibility. Thus the child who daily wins his gold star may easily be doing so because a conscientious mother or servant is giving much effort to his shoes and clothing. In this case the reward serves only to strengthen the dependence upon adults, and further, to teach the child that he can successfully trade upon this dependence.

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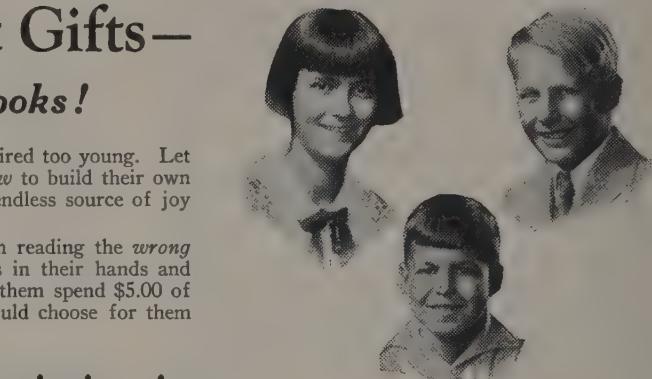
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